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# LETTERS

ON THE

## ANOMALOUS POSITION

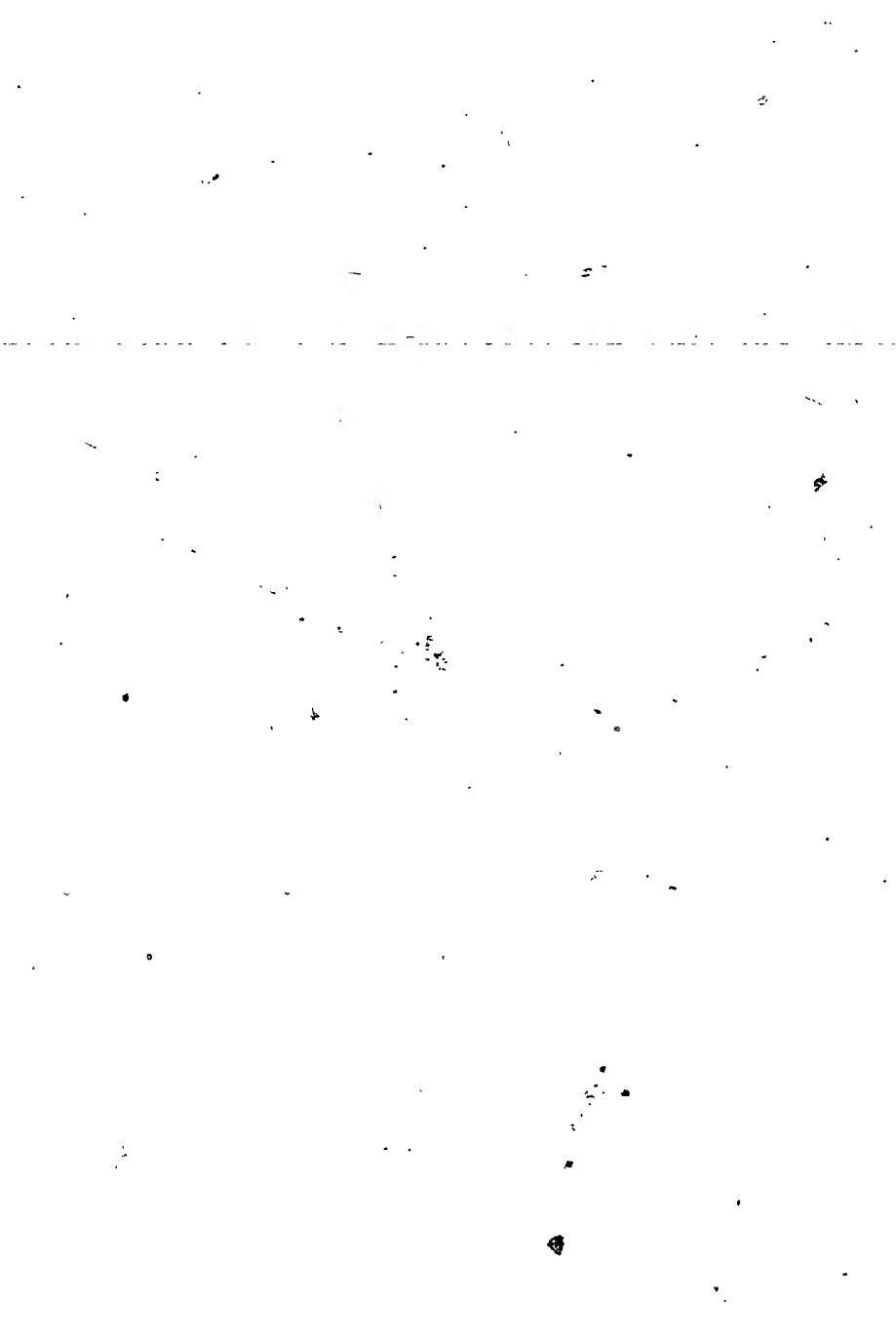
OF

## MANITOBA

AS A

## PROVINCE OF THE DOMINION.

1881.



## INTRODUCTION.

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In submitting to the people of Manitoba and of the other Provinces of Canada the statements contained in the series of "Letters on the Anomalous Position of Manitoba as a Province of the Dominion," the author has no other ambition than that of serving his country and of enabling the public men of Canada, by a careful perusal of the facts cited therein, to arrive at a just and favorable solution of a difficulty which can only lead to grave and serious complications if left longer in abeyance. Appreciating the many calls upon the time of public men the author has at considerable self-sacrifice collected the facts as they appear, and presents them to the public in as condensed a form as possible, in the hope that they may be carefully perused and be instrumental in drawing that attention to Manitoba's situation which justice demands. The author would also draw attention to the unanimity with which the Press of the Province endorses the claim: "That the time has now arrived when the balance of the public lands within the Province should be handed over to the Local Government." Should these letters lead to a careful consideration of our financial status and awaken an interest in our condition as a community, and ultimately result in dealing out evenhanded justice to us, none will be better pleased than

Your humble servant,

MANITOBA.



# LETTERS

ON THE

## ANOMALOUS POSITION

OF

### MANITOBA AS A PROVINCE OF THE DOMINION.

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#### LETTER I.

The question of providing for the self-government not only of Manitoba but also of the Provinces still to be created in the North-West, is one which, unfortunately for the future prosperity of this country, does not appear to sufficiently engage the attention of our public men throughout the Dominion. The true position of affairs in this respect is either not thoroughly understood or else there must be an unwise determination to put off the evil day of reckoning. That something will have to be done ere long to place Manitoba on a more independent footing than she is at present must be apparent to every intelligent man who has ever given the matter a thought. To delay the consideration of this important question is only to give an opportunity for fresh difficulties to arise in the way of a satisfactory solution. One of three courses will have to be adopted, viz: either the Province must obtain the means of revenue from the resources within its limits, such as Crown lands, timber limits, minerals, &c., or the Dominion, out of the public treasury, must supply the necessary funds to carry on the machinery of local Government and improvements, or lacking these two sources of revenue,

the people of the Province will be obliged to submit to direct taxation.

Already the formation and sustaining of municipalities throughout the country and a large proportion of the cost of supporting the common schools are sufficient burdens for the people to bear, especially when it is considered that the expenses and difficulties of a pioneer life are in themselves trying enough without the addition of further taxation.

Were we not in a progressive state of existence, were our requirements not increasing rapidly day by day, or were our institutions fully established and in thorough working order, the question of revenue might not be considered of so much importance, for it would be said with some degree of reason that as we were able to manage in the past so we could manage in the future. It must not be lost sight of however that in developing our present institutions we have been obliged to draw heavily from our capital account, until now it is reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. For instance on a population of 17,000 souls at \$32.438 the original amount at our credit was \$551,447.00, on which we drew interest annually @ 5 per cent. From this we withdraw in

1872.....	\$ 55,421.92
1873.....	39,777.43
1874.....	40,000.00
1875—The Province being charged with the expenses of the Gordon and Lepine trials and back interest.....	23,186.76
1880.....	100,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$258,386.11

And a further sum of \$50,000 having been authorized for 1881 will reduce the balance at our credit with the Dominion to \$243,060.89, on which pittance we are entitled to interest annually at 5 per cent. This makes our present subsidy as follows:

5 per cent on \$243,060.89..	\$ 12,153.04
Specific Grant.....	30,000.00
50 cents on 70,000, the ratio of population having been increased from 17,000 to that number under arrangement with Hon. Mr. Norquay in '79.....	36,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$98,153.04

We are reduced therefore to less than \$100,000 of a subsidy from the Dominion, and as our local revenue will not probably exceed 12 or \$15,000 it becomes a serious problem to solve how the machinery of Government is to be carried on with such a sum as \$115,000 at our disposal. The expenditure last year (1880), was \$181,329.42 and this year it will probably be as much or more, so that the question naturally arises, where does the money come from? The answer is a plain one, viz: From the capital account of the Province, thus reducing our annual income slowly but surely year by year.

It is true that were our institutions to remain the same as before the enlargement of our boundaries, we might go on for a year or two longer, as we have done in the past, gradually reducing our capital and meeting our annual expenditure in that way, but the end would be

complete bankruptcy. If the expenditure of the Province for one year was \$181,329.42, before Manitoba was enlarged, is it not reasonable to expect that with the enlargement it will be at least double that amount and if so how is the money to be raised?

To-day we are scraping and scrimping and paring down, leaving many things that ought to be done undone, living as it were from hand to mouth and not knowing where the means for the future are to come from, unless some unforeseen circumstance should happen to keep us from starving outright. This to-day is the position of one of the finest Provinces in the Dominion: A people in a land of plenty living in poverty.

Yet the assurance was given by Sir Geo. E. Cartier before Manitoba was taken into the Confederation: "THAT THIS PROVINCE SHOULD HOLD THE SAME STATUS AS THE FOUR PROVINCES NOW COM-PRISING THE DOMINION." If this assurance meant anything it was a guarantee that in all respects the Province of Manitoba would be treated in like manner as other provinces of the Dominion.

Are we thus treated? Do we enjoy the same privileges as the other parts of the Confederation? The simple answer to this is that each of the provinces except Manitoba, enjoys the control of the resources within its limits for its own particular benefit; each province except Manitoba owns and administers its own Crown lands, its timber, its minerals, &c., but we, living in the richest portion of Canada, control just sufficient land on which to erect our public buildings, and not one acre have we for sale for purposes of revenue, and not one stick or rock have we to dispose of for the same purpose.

It is a noticable fact that while the other provinces were admitted into Confederation Manitoba was created a province of the Dominion. Her limits were defined for her, her lands were retained for general purposes, and while she was saddled with an expensive form of local

government she was not allowed an adequate amount for the carrying on of the same. She has been and still is treated as an infant (half cared for and neglected at that). Would it then surprise old mother Dominion if this starved child should some day walk from under her maternal care and like many another case work out its own destiny. This language may be deemed too strong but let the present state of affairs continue a year or two longer, let the shoe pinch a little harder and the people who are now just beginning to feel the pressure of poverty and the want of many institutions enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the older provinces, will not only make their voices heard, but will back their demands by such unmistakable proofs of their determination to obtain their just rights that the Dominion will be forced to give them what they ask when perhaps it will not be so easy a matter as it is to-day to effect a satisfactory settlement of the question.

To-day every question of importance relating to the lands of the North-West is settled. The railway grants are defined, the half-breed lands have been allotted, the bounty warrants settled and Indian reserves located and still there is a large balance of the finest land in the world that could be handed over to the Provincial authorities for purposes of local revenue. It is hard to see why the Dominion should retain these lands or why they should be administered for the general welfare. It will be shown later on that the Dominion has been more than recouped already for any expenditure for the acquiring and surveying of them, and that in the future the North-West will be required to pay a very large proportion of the debt of Canada for public works already completed in the older provinces. It will at the same time be shown that Canada can advance no reason for the retention of the North-West lands on the plea that they ought to be held for purposes of Federal revenue.

Without desiring to cast any undue

reflection on the administration of lands by Dominion authorities, still it must be admitted from past experience that they are not the best land agents in the world. It is more than probable that they undervalue the importance of these lands not being dependent on them for the support of their government. They may regard the supply so great that a tendency to waste may creep into their management in spite of themselves. They may have so many political friends desirous of acquiring large landed estates in the North-West that it may be a troublesome matter to administer the lands altogether in the interests of the country. Already the Dominion Government have admitted that it was impossible for them, owing to political intrigue to manage the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the disadvantage. May not the same rule apply in their case to the administration of the lands of the North-West?

The people of Manitoba do not grudge the lands granted to the C. P. R.; on the contrary the wise policy adopted by the Company in their desire to promote settlement and development has made them very popular with the people. Besides we do not dispute the great value the railway will be to the country, but at the same time it will be shown that Manitoba while liable for her share of the public works in the older provinces is in reality paying more than her proportion in land and money towards the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is to all intents and purposes a national undertaking.

While British Columbia is paid an annual sum of \$100,000 by the Dominion for the right of way of the C.P.R. and while she will be paid for the lands used for railway purposes, Manitoba is obliged to give her millions of acres and her money as well towards defraying the cost of the road and receives in return only the benefits of easy communication and increased settlement which the railway will necessarily bring, without any

tangible recompence in the way of dollars and cents to the revenue of the Province.

As matters now stand, it is doubtful whether increased settlement is any advantage to the Province from a Provincial standpoint. Each new settler only increases the burden of the whole without adding anything to the Provincial Exchequer. To be plainer—in increased settlement requires increased expenditure by the Provincial Government, a proportion of which is sure to fall on the older portions of the Province; (should taxation have to be resorted to) until such time as the population of the new districts is large enough to pay the full quota towards the general fund.

It is clearly, therefore, to the interest of the Provincial Government, as matters now stand, to discourage immigration because each new settler is only increasing their burden without adding anything towards their relief. It is different with the Dominion Government, for each settler is a consumer and as such is adding to the general revenue from customs and excise besides the purchase money for his land.

It is not altogether in the interests of Manitoba and the North-West that this article is written; it is in the interest of the Dominion as well. In the first place the people of this country will not stand being subjected to taxation when it is so plain that they are being deprived of their just rights, when they are refused the same privileges as the other provinces; and it is to avoid trouble in the future that we appeal now to the Dominion to take this question up at once ere it is too late and settle it to the satisfaction of this Province. Supposing that the Dominion should assume the responsibility of furnishing in the future the necessary means for carrying on our local government and supporting our local institutions, are our public men in a position to fully estimate the responsibility they would thus take upon themselves? Can they tell what our expenditure

will necessarily be in a few years, and will the people of the Dominion, as a whole, agree to furnish annually from the general purse a sum sufficient to pay our expenses? Will the people of Manitoba and the North-West be content to receive such a contribution, when by right they ought to be in a more independent position? Will it not be a cause of continual disagreement between the Dominion and the North-Western Provinces to settle satisfactorily this subsidy question? Would it not be better, once for all, to say to Manitoba, here are your lands, go on and administer them to the best advantage, henceforth you are free and we will be responsible only for such regular subsidy as is allowed to the other provinces.

It must be remembered that this Province is settling up fast and that with the vigorous policy adopted by the C. P. R. for the development of the country and from the great attention being paid to the Canadian North-West, as a field for immigration, in Great Britain and Europe, there is every reason to expect that the population will increase very rapidly and the requirements of the country in proportion.

A limit is placed to the numbers on which 80 cents per head of a subsidy is to be paid by the Dominion and this limit is 400,000. The utmost subsidy therefore we can expect to receive under this head is \$320,000 per annum. Consequently, unless some arrangement can be entered into concerning our capital debt to increase the same, our revenue from the Dominion can never exceed somewhere about \$400,000 per annum at the outside; and this calculation is based on our specific grant being increased from \$30,000 to \$60,000 as an utmost limit.

In order to deal with this matter thoroughly we must look into the probable future of the country and discuss the question in a broad and liberal manner. It is not sufficient to show the requirements of to-day or even a year hence; the



question of providing for the future government of the country ought to be dealt with now with a view of settling it for all time to come. To do this we must suppose that Manitoba, which is about as large as Ontario in extent of country, will ere many years have a population equal, in point of numbers, to that province. The expenses of government would then be about the same in each. Now, taking the estimates of Ontario for 1881 we find the expenditure of that province to be as follows:

Civil Government	\$ 178,229.00
Legislation	108,900.00
Administration of Justice	286,660.00
Education	505,025.83
Public institutions maintenance	534,412.80
Immigration	41,200.00
Agriculture, arts, literary and scientific institutions	106,750.00
Hospitals and charities	78,141.98
Miscellaneous	50,263.73
Public buildings	14,000.00
Public works	11,500.00
Charges on crown lands	75,000.00
Unforeseen and unprovided	50,000.00
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	\$ 2,034,823.24

To meet this expenditure Ontario enjoys a subsidy from the Dominion of \$1,196,872.80 and from her crown lands, timber sales, law stamps, and revenue from public institutions, municipalities fund and common school lands she has somewhere about \$900,000, making in all nearly \$2,100,000. In addition to this, however, Ontario has husbanded her returns from land and timber sales, etc., until she has now a large surplus of several millions, on which she draws interest, thus swelling her annual revenue to a considerable amount.

Now the question arises, is Manitoba likely in the near future to have a population equal to that enjoyed by Ontario to-day, and if so, where is the means of revenue to come from to meet the expenses of self government? Suppose Manitoba to have a million inhabitants,

is it not reasonable to expect that the requisite expenditure of the Provincial Government would amount to a couple of million dollars annually? Where then is that money to come from, if the present arrangements are not altered? No intelligent man will deny the certainty of our expenditure increasing year by year as our population and requirements become greater. Unless then some means are adopted to place the province on an independent footing, it is going to be a subject of continual dispute and disagreement to re-adjust the subsidy from time to time to meet the growing wants of the country. As certainly as the sun rises each day will Manitoba require ere many years to expend as much money annually, as Ontario does now, and just as certain is it that unless some steps are taken at this time to create a revenue independent of Dominion aid, there will be a vexed and expensive question to solve in the future, namely: Provision for enabling the North-Western Provinces to carry on their machinery of local government. Is it likely that the people of the North-West will be content to remain deprived of institutions enjoyed by Ontario, Quebec, and the other Provinces? No! and neither is it probable that these institutions can be developed without the aid of money.

It will not redound to the credit of our public men now at the helm if they leave as a legacy to the people of Canada the settlement of such an important question in the future, when it can be so easily arranged at this time without any heavy expense or detriment to the Dominion.

There is, however, another view to take of the matter, and it is this:—The future welfare of Canada depends greatly on the development and success of the North-west. Now the contentment of the people living here will prove a great inducement to others abroad to follow in their footsteps; but should there be an outcry against the unfair treatment of

the Dominion—should sounds of discontent be heard from the people of the North-West—should it be known that in order to provide for our ordinary public wants we are obliged to submit to heavy local taxation, is it not probable that the very fact of such a state of affairs will prevent people from coming to this country to settle? Instead of obliging our Provincial authorities to turn the cold shoulder on immigration would it not be better to secure them as powerful allies. With an agitation go-

ing on in the country to procure the common necessities incident to good government, the Dominion would find it hard work to persuade people abroad that this is a prosperous and happy country to live in. Why not then, while the remedy is within reach, settle the matter satisfactorily for all time to come ere it is too late—ere the lands of Manitoba are frittered away for one purpose or another and nothing is left to the Dominion but to put her hand in her pocket for the support of her North-Western children.

## LETTER II.

It has often been contended, and is believed still by many persons throughout the Dominion, that the lands of the North-West were purchased by Canada and that therefore Manitoba has no right to administer them. This is a fallacy altogether, as the Dominion Government merely paid the \$1,500,000 to the Hudson's Bay Co., not as value for the lands, but as compensation for the abandonment of any rights which they may have had under their charter. There are grave doubts whether the Hudson's Bay Company had really any title to the lands; their charter being more for trading purposes. But it was held by the British authorities that the H. B. Co. had a claim to the country, and in order to dispose of that stumbling-block to the acquisition of the North-West, Canada agreed to purchase their rights, whatever they might be. Had Canada not acquired the privilege of extending confederation from ocean to ocean the North-Western Territory would have become a Crown Colony for the simple reason that as it was a part of the British possessions, Great Britain would have resumed control over the country—a control which had been only temporarily vested in a trading company under a charter. As the best legal opinion held that compen-

sation was due the Hudson's Bay Company, and as Canada desired to extend her dominion, it was necessary to arrange this matter of compensation ere England would allow her possession to pass into other hands than her own. Had a Crown Colony been formed there is no doubt the administration of the lands would have been vested in the Colonial Government thus formed for the support of such institutions as might have been required by the colonists. It is folly then to suppose that \$1,500,000 was ever meant as purchase money for the lands; it was expended for the purpose of allowing Canada to extend her jurisdiction outside of her then circumscribed area.

Under the constitution of Confederation there is nothing to show in it that the Federal Government would ever be expected to administer the lands, but there is everything to indicate that the Provinces forming Confederation ought to enjoy the benefits of their own resources for purposes of local improvement and as a proof of this we find that in every case except Manitoba, the crown lands timber, minerals, &c., belong to the Province. In the case of Prince Edward Island between \$700,000 and \$800,000 has been advanced from the Dominion Treasury to enable her to acquire public lands,

and British Columbia is being paid annually \$100,000 for the right of way to the C. P. R. through her territory. The payment of \$1,500,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company and the granting of one twentieth of the lands were the first steps towards Canada acquiring any jurisdiction in the country. The next step was the liquidation of the Indian title. This was accomplished by means of treaties with the Indians, which stipulated the payment annually of certain sums of money and provisions &c., to the several tribes throughout the North-West. To fully accomplish the extinguishment of the Indian title, however, it was deemed necessary to treat with the half-breed population and consequently it was agreed to grant certain lands, (1,400,000 acres) to these people, which was done as the meaning of the Act explains, for the purpose of fully extinguishing any title which the children of the aborigines of the country might possess.

In taking these two steps, however, the Dominion was only paving the way for an extension of her jurisdiction and also of provincial government to the territory thus to be acquired. It was like a parent preparing the way for his or her children but nothing in this goes to show any just reason why the Dominion should withhold from the North-Western provinces any rights, which under the constitution of Confederation they have reason to expect. There were other expenses incurred in acquiring the North-West which, however, will be dealt with ere we close, when it will be shown that there is no reason or precedent for making them chargeable to provincial account.

While advocating the claims of Manitoba at this time, we are really preparing the way for the full enjoyment of their rights by the provinces still to be created in this great land. But while doing so, it must not be lost sight of, that during the last ten or twelve years there has been a sad inroad made into the lands of this Province, and at

present instead of having something laid aside for a rainy day, we find Manitoba unprepared to meet the growing wants of the country, and the property which should be hers in all justice, dwindling away year by year, thus gradually reducing her chances of ever becoming financially strong.

On investigation we find that 3,749,075 acres have been disposed of in one way or another by the Dominion. 1,315,840 acres of land within the present boundaries of Manitoba have been allotted to the half-breed population. About 2,400,000 belong to the Hudson Bay Company, and in the neighborhood of 2,600,000 acres have been set aside for school purposes, the administration of which, however, is withheld from the Provincial Government, and in addition to this between two and three million acres will be devoted to railway purposes. With its enlarged area Manitoba contains about 2,640 townships, or something over sixty million acres. From this say 25 millions must be deducted for water and useless territory, leaving a balance as follows:

Good land	35,000,000
Disposed of,	3,749,075
Half-breed lands,	1,315,840
Hudson Bay Co.,	2,400,000
School,	2,600,000
Railway, say	3,000,000
	<hr/>
	13,064,915

Showing still to be administered in round numbers, 22 million acres. It is estimated that there is at least 200 million acres of good land in the North-West. If then the Dominion paid only \$1,500,000 for this vast amount of territory, it just cost them 7½ mills per acre, which it must be admitted is not a very high price for land even where it is so plentiful.

Now what would be the result of an arrangement between the Dominion and Provincial Governments by which the latter would obtain control over the public lands? It would make the Pro-

vincial Government an active agent in the settlement and development of the country. It would assist to a great extent the Federal Government in their task of peopling this great land, and it would give the Province of Manitoba an opportunity to place herself financially in a good position, without having to constantly make begging pilgrimages to the Dominion capital. Of course it is impossible here to lay down all the details that would be necessary for the handing over of the balance of the lands to the Province, but sufficient has been shown to demonstrate that it is not a matter of impossibility, but rather that there is everything to gain thereby, not only from a Provincial but also from a Dominion stand-point.

To return once more to the point where this letter commenced, it has been shown how the first step taken by Canada to obtain a foothold in the country was to buy off the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, the second was to extinguish the Indian title by treaties and grants to the half-breed population. These two steps having been taken and the right of governing the country having been obtained, the Dominion was in a position to extend the constitutional privileges of Confederation to the people living in the country and to those who might thereafter make their homes in it. It was deemed expedient to keep a military force for some time in the country and it was also thought advisable to organize a corps of Mounted Police to secure law and order in the new territory. But none of these expenses are properly chargeable to Provincial account. As well might it be said that in case of a Fenian or other invasion taking place in Ontario that the cost of repelling it would be charged against that Province. As well might it be said that the cost of sustaining the volunteer force of the country is chargeable to each Province in proportion to the number of men enrolled. If the Dominion did and does expend a good

round sum to secure law and order in the North-West, is it not proving a good investment?

Is not the quiet possession of this country the means of increasing year by year the revenue of the Dominion? Is not the rapid settlement of this great country opening up an almost unlimited market for the manufactures of Canada? While our boundless prairies will be yielding their millions of bushels of grain which when exported will draw the gold of foreign countries to Canada, will not this gold be the medium of obtaining the raw material for Canadian industries and will not the husbandmen of the North-West be the consumers of Canadian products and the main supporters of Canadian industries in the East? It makes one almost doubt the ordinary intelligence of Canadians when we hear men who ought to know better grumble at the expense which Canada has been at to obtain jurisdiction over this fine country. Then another cause of complaint against the North-West and another reason given why the proceeds from the lands of this country ought to go into the federal treasury is, the expense of providing for the Indians. Well, this is one way of keeping law and order and it might as well be said that the expenditure for the support of the Militia, \$690,018 93, is properly chargeable to the Eastern Provinces as to say that the expense of keeping the Indians quiet is chargeable against the North-West Territory. It is foolish in the extreme for men to contend that because the North West, like all other portions of the Dominion is a charge on the general revenue of the country that therefore the lands belong to the Federal Government to recoup that expenditure.

The fact is, that the principle of Confederation is to govern the country through Provincial administration much in the same way as State government prevails with our neighbors south of the boundary line and so it became necessary to create a province in the newly ac

quired territory as a starting point for Provincial Government in the North-West. It will then be necessary in the future to create other provinces as the country becomes settled, and the question which presents itself is, how will the means to pay for the self government of these provinces be raised? Unfortunately in the case of Manitoba it was at first limited to a very small area of country which has since been enlarged, but it was at the outset given a most expensive form of government with very small means to carry it on. The subsidy of the province, it is true, has been slightly increased from time to time, but not sufficiently so to keep pace with its requirements. The increase thus granted, however, only goes to prove an admission on the part of the federal authorities that the provision made by them for the Government of the Province was totally inadequate, and now that there is every reason to expect that the wants of the country will increase rapidly year by year, is it going to be the case in the future, as it has been in the past, that Manitoba will have to ask for aid as it is required or will she be placed above such a humiliating position? There never has been the slightest indication on the part of the people, since this Province has been vested with responsible government, that they meant to forego what is certainly their best right according to the principles of confederation, the administration of their own local resources for their own benefit.

The idea of some equivalent for the loss of her lands has, it is true, been discussed, but time and experience has shown that no equivalent can be arrived at satisfactory to both the Federal and Provincial authorities, which will meet the inevitable future requirements of the Province. There is only one course for the Dominion, and that is to throw the responsibility of providing for the future on the shoulders of the Province itself, and it is for the Province to assume the responsibility if backed with the only available means to do so, namely, the balance of the resources left to the country.

There is only one charge which the Dominion can properly place against the lands of this Province, and that is the cost of survey, which amounts to over \$1,400,000. This sum, however, has been more than recouped by the sale of lands as will be shown by the following: Up to the close of the year 1880 there were 11,371 homestead

entries	\$ 113,716.00
1,007,104 acres preemption	1,007,104.00
922,515 acres sold, and for	922,515.00
Forest tree culture, say	300,000.00

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\$ 2,046,335.00

From which deduct cost  
of survey

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1,400,000.00

Leaving a balance of \$ 646,335.00  
in favor of Manitoba, so that this Province will have more than recouped the Dominion for the outlay in surveying these lands.

### LETTER III.

No matter how the question may be argued *pro* and *con*, the facts of the case cannot be denied, and these are, that at present Manitoba has not sufficient revenue to meet her ordinary expenditures, and consequently she is obliged to draw on her capital account. More-

over each year our requirements are rapidly increasing and no provision under present arrangements with the Dominion is made for the inevitable increase in the expenditure of the future. Does any man doubt that ere many years Manitoba will have a million inhabi-

tants? When we see the preparations that are being made for a large immigration next year; when we note the attention that is being paid abroad to the North-West as a field for intending settlers, is it not plain that this country is going to fill up rapidly, and therefore would it not be wise to think beforehand how this increasing population is to be provided for? In the calculation made for this Province there seems to have been no adequate idea of the proportions to which the population would be likely to grow. For instance, we are limited to 400,000 as the number on which we are to receive 80 cents per head and therefore when our population will be equal to that of Ontario, she will be receiving \$1,196,872.80, while we only get \$320,000. Is there any doubt in the minds of intelligent men that Manitoba's population will equal that of Ontario ere many years? When that is the case what justice will there be in paying one province nearly four times as much subsidy as another equally as large and populous?

It may be worth while at this stage to investigate how far Manitoba is a burden on the Dominion, or whether she is one at all, and it may be also advisable to institute a comparison between her and the other provinces of the Dominion in this respect, even as she now stands, because it has been stated that this Province is a burdensome expenditure instead of a benefit to Canada. Some of our best statesmen have made this assertion and now let us see how far they were correct. To do this we will have to make a synopsis of the expenditures of the Dominion. In the first place there is expended according to the Public Accounts \$7,270,014.07 on what may be termed purely federal accounts such as Legislation and civil Government Militia, Police, Immigration, Indians, etc. etc. Of this sum Ontario, Québec and the maritime provinces receive the principal benefit; or in other words, that amount is collected

from the people and afterwards paid out and circulated principally in the Eastern provinces, Manitoba getting a very small share, indeed.

The next thing is the expenditure on account public works as follows:

Railways in Eastern Canada including eastern portion of C.P.R.	\$ 6,297,098.93
C. P. R. in North-West	1,663,467.47
Canals in Eastern provinces	2,563,570.94
Improvement of rivers	39,545.26
Telegraphs	37,524.61
Public buildings	754,149.61
Harbors, piers, etc., etc	297,777.26

\$ 11,655,074.43

Of which sum about \$16,000 was expended on Manitoba, thus showing how little outside of the C. P. R. is actually spent in this Province for public works. In addition to this the following sums are spent on behalf of the several Provinces. For Penitentiaries, Observatories, Marine Hospitals, Lighthouses, Fisheries, &c., and Subsidies:—

Ontario,	\$1,526,758.39
Quebec,	1,422,118.80
Nova Scotia,	590,438.58
New Brunswick,	388,402.44
British Columbia,	276,117.91
Prince Edward Island,	208,103.98
Manitoba,	137,497.22

Now what do we deduce from these figures? Over Twenty-three Million Dollars are expended for different services amongst the Provinces of the Dominion, of which Manitoba obtains a very slight share in the way of circulation as most of the purchases even on Canadian Pacific account are made outside our limits, and only \$137,487.22 is spent by the Dominion on actual account with this Province. Yet Manitoba in hard cash paid last year into the Treasury of Canada in

Customs,	\$298,205.48
Excise,	65,841.89

\$354,047.37

And in addition to this it must be re-

membered that we consume a large amount of goods on which duties are paid at the ports in Ontario, Quebec, and other Provinces, and for which they get full credit in their Customs returns while we get none although we consume the goods.

There were exactly \$23,358,347.43 collected from the people of Canada in the way of Customs, Excise, Postage, and other sources of revenue. There were over twenty-three million dollars spent and circulated in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. What is the inference from this? Why that the boasted expenditure by Canada in the North-West is after all no expenditure at all out of the pockets of the Dominion, for we find that while they pay into the Treasury 25 millions they get it back again, and the balance of the annual expenditure by the Dominion of 53 millions is made up from fresh loans. In other words the Dominion is borrowing each year to pay up the old indebtedness, and in the end the North-West will be called upon to pay its quota (a large one at that) to reduce the public debt of Canada, and if it is ever to be reduced it will be from the pockets of the millions who will yet inhabit this vast territory.

Let us then not hear anything more of the absurdity that Canada is paying out vast sums for this country. She is borrowing now that we may pay in the future, and while we are talking of borrowing it would be well to ask the question, How comes it that the credit of Canada has improved so much of late in the money markets of Europe? Is it because money is plentiful? Would that induce capitalists to place their gold where they had no confidence in the security of the investment? No. The reason of Canada's improved credit lies in the fact that she has the Great North-West as a back-bone, that her future, through possessing so rich and extensive a territory, is an assured one. Like the United States before her she is bound to prosper, because within

her own limits she has an almost unlimited market to supply in the future with her own industries, and therefore within herself she possesses all the elements to create wealth and prosperity, and no outside influences can possibly affect her manufacturing trade while there is everything to show that when other countries may fail in the production of grain, she, as the greatest of wheat-producing countries, is destined to become "the Granary of the World."

Yet with all these facts before us we hear Canadians grumbling that Manitoba and the North-West is only a source of expense to Canada, and our Canadian statesmen grudging the people of this country the wherewithal (which is really their birthright) to enjoy the blessing of a prosperous self-government.

Manitoba has paid into the Dominion Treasury in the way of customs receipts as follows:—

1872	\$ 47,839.90
1873	48,074.45
1874	67,473.99
1875	171,420.86
1876	253,045.88
1877	192,480.23
1878	223,530.18
1879	265,827.83
1880	298,205.48

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\$1,576,899.78

and in Excise :

1874	\$ 4,697.46
1875	8,363.36
1876	19,716.14
1877	24,171.46
1878	39,225.97
1879	54,228.16
1880	65,941.99

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\$216,244.34

In all \$1,793,144.12. The figures show a rapid increase in the revenue which the Dominion is receiving year by year from this province. In the same time Manitoba received from Canada in the way of subsidy only \$804,019.21, leaving a balance in our favor of \$989,124.91, which

has been contributed to the Dominion Treasury over and above what we have received from that source.

To recapitulate then, the outlay which Canada has expended on the North-West, we find it to be as follows: Purchase of the rights of the Aborigines, Military Force and Mounted Police to preserve law and order. These three items of expenditure were for the purpose of securing to Canada a foothold in the country. That being secured, the next thing was to organize a form of government and to survey the lands for the purpose of settlement. The cost of the latter work has been up to this time, \$1,469,246.37, but as an offset to this expenditure, we find the following: Homesteads, 1,819,456 acres, representing in fees \$113,616; 1,007,104 acres pre-emption, representing, say at \$1 per acre, \$1,007,104; sales in scrip and cash, \$22,515 acres, representing with what is still due \$1,052,585.07 or a total of \$2,173,405.07 against \$1,479,246.37, being a balance of \$704,158.70 in favor of the Manitoba lands above cost of survey. We hold that the only expenditure by the Dominion in this country which is properly chargeable to the Province is the cost of surveying the lands and this we have shown by the above figures has been fully recouped to the Federal Government. So far as this is concerned, therefore, the way is clear for the transfer of the lands to the Provincial authorities.

The next expenditure to be considered is the outlay on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and as we have often heard it stated that the burden of paying for this undertaking will fall on the should-

ers of the people of Ontario, Quebec and the maritime provinces, it may not be out of place to consider whether this is likely to be the case. We find from the Statement of Receipts and Payments by the Dominion, that exactly \$23,357,347.43 was collected from the people in the way of Customs, Excise and other sources of revenue. We also note that for Expenses of Government, ordinary expenditure and Public Works the sum of \$33,141,749.17 was expended. From this deduct the outlay on account of the the Canadian Pacific Railway, \$4,041,522.72, leaving \$29,096,226.45, a sum exceeding still the receipts from ordinary revenue by \$5,739,879.02. Now, allowing the latter sum to be an offset to the interest on the public debt incurred on behalf of the C. P. R. we find that not one cent is taken out of the pockets of the people of Canada to build the road, but that the credit of the Dominion is used in borrowing money for that purpose. We have already shown how far the possession of this great land enables Canada to enter money markets with success, so it narrows itself down to the fact that in reality the credit of the North-West is used by Canada to secure the means for constructing the national undertaking, and therefore this country is under no obligations to the Dominion for the Railway. Especially is this the case when it is considered that in the future the people of Manitoba and the North-Western provinces to be created, will be called upon to pay both principal and interest of the great public debt now being incurred by Canada to build the road.

#### LETTER IV.

When the debate on the Canadian Pacific Charter was taking place in the House of Commons it was customary to hear speakers state that the lands of the North-West would in time recoup the

Dominion for her expenditure on the railway. This at the time served the purpose of quieting a good deal of opposition to the charter, or rather it was throwing the people off the scent. It



was curious to note the various calculations that were made concerning the value of North-West lands, and the different amounts that would be realized therefrom.

Now it is not to be thought for one moment that our statesmen really believed anything of the sort. We give them credit for better sense and a deeper knowledge of public affairs, than to think them capable of any such absurdity.

The lands of the North-West, if administered by the Dominion Government, will never yield one cent of revenue to the treasury. We have only to look at the case of the United States to have a proof of this, for it is well known, and an acknowledged fact, that the American Government have never realized any net revenue from the sale of their public lands. The reason of this is the large grants given by the Federal authorities for the maintenance of state government. In like manner the Dominion cannot avoid giving large grants for the maintenance of Provincial Government. It has been found, too, in the United States that the country has benefited more by giving free grants to the settlers than had the land been held for high prices, because each immigrant is worth so much annually to the State in the way of revenue.

The people of Canada must expect to see the public debt increased very largely within the next few years in order to obtain the money to meet the engagements caused by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But this increase to our national indebtedness is not going to be liquidated by the sale of North-West lands. It is going to be met from the largely increased revenue to be derived from the millions of people who will find homes in this great country. The public debt of Canada now amounts to over one hundred and fifty millions and before we are through with the Canadian Pacific, it will likely reach two hundred millions. This is the way the

expense of constructing the Canadian Pacific will be met—the money will be borrowed and the increased interest will be paid by the people of the North-West, while the Dominion must look to the peopling of this vast country, and the revenue to be derived therefrom, if it ever expects to reduce the national indebtedness. It never seemed to enter into the calculations of the men who, in parliament, made such random statements in regard to our lands, that there would be provincial governments in the North-West to support, and that if the lands were to be used to build the railway, the public purse would have to be drawn on heavily for the purpose of supporting those representative institutions which the people would expect to enjoy.

It just amounts to this, if the Dominion will insist upon administering the lands in this country, and deriving any benefit from their sale, then the federal treasury will have to accept the responsibility of providing means for our self-government. If they choose, however, to enter into an arrangement by which we will obtain means from the sale of our lands to meet our expenses they will be freed from such responsibility, and it will then remain with us to husband our resources to the best advantage. That there is a way opened by which the settlement of the country can be encouraged, and at the same time our wants supplied through the proper administration of the lands, there cannot be a doubt, and it is for our statesmen to promulgate some good scheme for that purpose. One thing is certain, if we are to resort to heavy local taxation to meet our requirements, the Dominion may as well cease at once to attempt to settle the country, for people will not come to a new land where burdensome taxation exists.

That something is due to Manitoba for the heavy inroad already made upon her lands there cannot be a doubt in order to place her on an equal footing with the

other Provinces to be created in the North-West. Does anyone doubt that the Canadian Pacific Railway is going to be a great benefit to Eastern Canada in connecting her industries with this great market? If then Manitoba and the North-West is to give 25 million acres of land in addition to their regular share towards the construction of an undertaking which will be a national and therefore a general benefit, should not Canada be prepared to give some equivalent for that extra contribution on our part? This can hardly be denied and therefore some new arrangement of our capital account ought to take place on that basis. It is a matter however to be decided between the Federal and Provincial Governments whether the arrangement should be in the form of handing over the residue of the lands to the Province with some equivalent for what has been used already by the Dominion, or an equivalent out and out in the shape of a percentage in lieu of the lands being left under the charge of the Dominion. Whatever agreement is come to, however, it must be with the view of providing for the future as well as the present. It must not be forgotten that while at least 3 or \$400,000 is required for the present wants of the Province, only about \$115,000 is available, and that in a few years instead of \$400,000 something over a million dollars will be necessary. If our present needs only are attended to, it will in a short time be the old story over again — "increased requirements with renewed demands for help from the Dominion"—and the sooner this state of affairs is put an end to the better it will be for the Dominion and also for the Province.

In the American Union the State Governments rely almost exclusively upon direct taxation of real and personal property, under annual assessments for revenue, while the tariff is the chief resource of the Federal Government. Supposing that the North-Western Provinces were obliged to have recourse to

direct taxation in addition to their municipal and school taxes in order to support the Provincial Government, how unjust would be the comparison between them and the other parts of the Dominion exempt as these are from such a heavy burden. Yet unless something is done now to prevent it the people of the North-West may as well make up their minds to the inevitable. Such a state of affairs however will not redound in the future to the credit of the men who have the responsibility now of shaping the destinies of our Dominion. We cannot for one moment believe that they really look forward to the reduction of the public debt of Canada from the proceeds of our North-Western land sales. Let them therefore at this time take the matter up and by a wise course of administration so arrange it that while a portion of the lands shall be set aside for the purpose of free grants to settlers the residue will be handed over or administered for the benefit of Provincial Government. Is it not better to do this than to be giving away large tracts to private companies ostensibly for the purpose of colonization but actually for speculation. Let the means at the disposal of the Dominion be husbanded now to provide for good Government in this country ere those means are squandered. It is the experience of the Federal Government of the United States that from one cause or another the Treasury derives no nett revenue from the sale of the public lands. It is the experience of the Dominion that while 3,749,075 acres have been disposed of in the North-West outside the grant to the C. P. R., the public account of Canada only show as follows:—Receipts from Manitoba lands,

1873,	26,239.45
1874,	28,980.80
1875,	27,641.15
1876,	8,545.95
1877,	3,799.56
1878,	19,424.86
1879,	23,828.09

1880,

147,802.88

\$287,288.13

Yet a report of the Surveyor-General in October, 1880, shows as disposed of :

1,819,456 acres Homesteads.

1,007,104 " Pre-emption.

922,614 " Sales.

3,749,075

How comes it then that for nearly four million acres of land disposed of the Dominion can only show less than \$300,000 in cash. Even allowing for the Homesteads, scrip, and balance still due, on land sales (\$356,761.23), there are still a large number of acres to be accounted for, plainly showing that great tracts of country are held for speculation under the guise of colonization. How different would it be had these lands been administered by the Province for provincial account, where the people could have kept track of the land transactions. Let us see the very last statement, just to hand, of the receipts of the Crown Lands Department of Ontario, where they have only a limited area to dispose of as compared to Manitoba. It is as follows :

Crown Lands	\$ 38,867.90
Woods and Forests	501,442.17
Casual Fees	632.98
Inspection Fees	833.49
Settlers' Homestead Fund	104.20
Timber Limits Survey	919.52
Destitute Settlers	12.15
Surveyors' fee fund	161.70

\$542,974.11

Now, if, in Ontario, they can realize more than half a million annually from Crown lands while the Dominion cannot show anything near that amount from a

country where the land is of the richest character, where the prospects for the settler are so good, then it clearly demonstrates that the sooner the Federal authorities get rid of the task of administering the affairs of the land as they did of the railway the better it will be for the country.

We cannot be far wrong in taking the United States as an example in this land question. The vast experience enjoyed by them in settling the great west is surely worth something, and therefore let us see how they manage—

One-fifth of the proceeds of the sales of lands by the federal government of the American Union in lieu of local taxation on lands remaining unsold is paid into the treasury of the State. In addition to this the federal government is liberal in making specific grants to the states, as an instance of which we may quote the State of Minnesota, which besides two sections in each township or one sixteenth of the whole area for school purposes received grants amounting in all to 14,724,591 acres for administration in the interest of the State. Now were the Dominion even as liberal as this to Manitoba we would not complain, but it must be remembered that the States of the Union resort in a large degree to direct taxation for revenue in addition to what is received from the lands and as we will show in the succeeding letter, Manitoba is to a large extent prevented by the action of the Dominion from deriving any great benefit from direct taxation unless it is directed against the real and personal property of the settlers, a hardship which the pioneers of this country are not in a position to quietly submit to.

## LETTER V.

When, some time ago, the Provincial Government endeavored to impose a tax on wild lands it was found that those

owned by the Hudson's Bay Company were exempted under an arrangement made with the Dominion. At least the



Local Government were unable to collect any revenue from this and in consequence the wild land tax of the Province became a dead letter. Under the contract between the Dominion and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the property of the latter is exempt from taxation. While we do not object to the railway property being exempted in this manner, because being aware of the great risk assumed by the men who undertook the construction of the road when they accepted that responsibility, we quite agree with the policy of aiding and encouraging them in every possible way. At the same time, the inability to collect taxes on so much property within the province will cause (should local taxation be resorted to) a much heavier load to fall on the shoulders of the people than there would be, were there no exemptions. For this state of affairs the Dominion is responsible, so that not content with depriving this Province of any share in her public lands, she also limits the power of the local authorities to raise revenue by taxation.

In the United States it is not usual for the federal government to interfere with the state governments in this way without, at least, giving some equivalent. If the State chooses to exempt railways from taxes they have a right to do so, but as a general thing a large amount of revenue is raised from railway corporations throughout the United States. The State of Illinois is an instance of this, the cost of government there being largely met by the taxes collected on railway property.

The very fact of so much land being held by the railway, the Hudson's Bay Company, and for school purposes, therefore out of reach of the local authorities for purposes of revenue, curtails their power to a very considerable extent. Moreover when the people see so much land exempt it is a difficult matter to get them to willingly submit to a land tax at all.

This state of affairs places the Provincial Government in a still more unsatisfactory position, and makes it more difficult for them to provide means for raising revenue. It is also a serious drawback to our municipal system, and when looked at from one point does not appear quite fair. For instance, why should the railway company enjoy the privilege of protection from the Provincial Government without contributing anything towards the support thereof.

If the Dominion Government saw fit to grant the company exemption it is certainly but right that the Province should get some equivalent. And on this basis a still further arrangement of our capital account ought to take place. We do not pretend to find fault with the Dominion for having been obliged under the circumstances to deed away the rights of this Province as they certainly did in the case of the C. P. R. We are aware that it was necessary in order to carry out the development of the country that certain concessions should be given to the railway company, but at the same time we consider that, as the work is more national than Provincial in character, some compensation is due this Province, especially when it is considered as we have already shown that the people of Manitoba and the North-West will be required to pay their full share in other respects towards the cost of constructing the road.

It would be different if Canada was really drawing from its revenue the money necessary for building the railway, but as she simply is borrowing it with the expectation of its being repaid at some future time by the North-Western people, it reminds one of a merchant with a splendid store and magnificent stock of goods doing business in his own name, getting all the glory therefrom, while in reality his creditors are the true owners of the store and goods. It is so with Canada, she is getting all the glory at present of developing this country but she is doing it on

borrowed capital and the people of the North-West will pay the piper in the end.

Sir Alexander Galt stated lately that during his visit to Manitoba he did not meet a discontented man. What he said is correct. The people of this Province are happy, prosperous and contented now because they have not begun to feel the pressure of taxation, owing to the local Government having met the requirements of the country by withdrawing the necessary funds from capital account, but should there be no change in our financial arrangements the shoe will pinch ere long. Our capital consumed, our revenue reduced to less than \$100,000, with our expenditure four times that amount, the difference must come out of the pockets of the settlers in the country; then let Sir Alexander Galt visit the country and he will with difficulty find a contented man in it.

There is one more question to which we wish to allude ere we close this letter, and that is the action of the Dominion in retaining control of our school lands.

In the United States the school lands are administered by the state. Surely the people of Manitoba are not altogether children that they should be considered incapable of managing what is really their own affair. The disposition of these lands and the management of the proceeds are certainly matters that cannot affect the welfare of the Dominion in the slightest. The lands are laid aside for the purpose of educating the children of Manitoba. The representatives then of the people of this province are the best judges as to how these lands ought to be

administered. It is an insult to the intelligence of the people of Manitoba that the control of these school lands is withheld from them. Suppose we should say that we wish them held for higher prices or were we to desire them sold at once, our wishes would go for naught if the Dominion felt so inclined. We are told in so many words that we cannot be trusted with the control of our school lands. The department at Ottawa is supposed to know more about our wants than we do ourselves. It is quite possible the school lands will be administered to the very best advantage for our benefit. We do not even wish to cast any doubt upon that. But suppose the Government at Ottawa should by some means squander or mismanage these lands, who would be the sufferers? Not the people of Canada but those of Manitoba. Surely we would protect our own interests in administering this property. At least if any mismanagement did take place, we would be the only sufferers. Why not then give us control of what to us is a most important matter? We do not say this from a feeling of mere sentiment, but from a fear that political intrigue may influence the administration of these lands so long as they are held by the Federal government, where as if placed in the hands of our local authorities, the people are so deeply interested in their careful administration that the Provincial government dare not squander them. Already the people are heavily taxed for school purposes and now that the requirements of education are rapidly on the increase some steps ought to be taken at once to lighten the burden and increase the revenue for this purpose.

## LETTER III.

The debt of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec on entering Confederation was estimated at \$62,500,000 but as in reality it amounted to \$73,000,088.84 the difference \$10,500,088.84 was assumed and by Vic. 36, Cap. 30, proportionate amounts were placed to the credit of the other Provinces as an off-set. The Dominion is paying interest to this day on that debt, it being nearly half the sum for which Canada is at present liable. And in addition to the relief thus afforded these two Provinces they are paid each an annual subsidy as follows:

Ontario,	\$1,196,872.80
Quebec,	959,252.80

Besides this they are allowed the control of their own resources and have therefore on that account been able to establish a credit for themselves abroad and procure many advantages at home which so far have been denied the younger Provinces of the Dominion.

Then looking at the other Provinces we find that the following amounts have been paid them on Subsidy account since they entered Confederation:

Nova Scotia, 1869 to 1880, 12 years,	\$5,597,220.71
New Brunswick, 1869 to 1880—12 years,	4,983,048.64
British Columbia, 1873 to 1880—8 years	1,724,873.70
Prince Edw'd Island, 1874 to 1880—7 years	1,385,134.26
Manitoba, 1871 to 1880— 10 years,	804,019.21

Manitoba's subsidy in 1871 amounted to \$67,204.40; in 1875 it was reduced to \$63,253.04 through withdrawal from capital account, and in that year it was raised to \$90,000 under an arrangement with the Dominion Government. In 1879 a further increase took place through the exertions of the Norquay administration, and the subsidy was placed at \$105,653.04, but the necessities of the Province required a further with

drawal from capital account, and as we have already shown, it is again reduced until at present it amounts to \$98,153.04

Now what inference is to be drawn from these fluctuations in our subsidy if it is not, that in the first place, the annual grant to the Province was quite inadequate to meet the growing requirements of the Province. The very fact of the Dominion having twice increased our subsidy is an acknowledgment of this. Our population was at the outset estimated at 17,000, whereas to-day it is over 70,000. British Columbia's population was estimated at 60,000, whereas to-day it does not number probably 15,000 whites. The comparison does not reflect much credit on the judgment of our public men so far as their impartiality is concerned. It is also noteworthy the small amount drawn as subsidy by Manitoba when compared with the other Provinces of the Dominion. The subsidy when placed in 1871 at \$67,204.50 was intended to remain at that figure for the next ten years. No provision was made for the rapid settlement of the country and its increasing requirements.

Now the danger exists that in a new arrangement of our financial relations with the Dominion the future rapid growth of our population will not be sufficiently considered, and that in a year or two later we will find ourselves once more obliged to ask an increase of our subsidy. Such a result ought to be avoided, and the only way this can be done, so far as we can see, is to have our subsidy re-adjusted every three years on the basis of a triennial census. For instance, suppose our population to-day is 70,000, it is not unlikely that before three years it will be double that number and in ten years it may reach half a million or more. What justice would there be, then, in paying a subsidy based on 70,000 to a population numbering 500,000. In the older pro-

vinces the case is different, because population does not and is not likely to increase so rapidly and a decennial census answers the purpose well enough.

Then again the limit of 400,000 which was placed on our population in regard to the grant of 80 cents per head was not so much out of the way when the area of the Province was a hundred miles square, but now that Manitoba is enlarged and is capable of holding as great a population as Ontario, the limit ought to be enlarged in proportion.

The census returns of the other provinces in 1881 was as follows.

Ontario	1,396,091
Quebec	1,111,566
Nova Scotia	387,800
New Brunswick	285,594
Prince Edward Island	94,021
British Columbia, proper number	10,000

and although we have not the returns of 1881, it is not likely that all the provinces above named, put together, have added much more than 500,000 to their numbers in ten years.

There is, however, every indication at present, that Manitoba in 1891 will contain a population over half a million, or more than all the provinces put together will have increased during the same time. There is every argument, therefore, in favor of giving us a triennial census for subsidy purposes, and the limit of 400,000 ought to be increased to at least double that number. If something of this sort is not done, any arrangement now made for the re-adjustment of our financial arrangements with the Dominion will, in a few years be found totally inadequate and fresh changes will have to take place.

We have now endeavored to point out what we may almost term the deplorable state of our financial position. We have not done so in any partizan spirit, but merely to show the injustice which is be-

ing done to this Province by the Dominion. It is true we are in a sad minority in the House of Commons. It is difficult to make our voices heard in that august body, but the day is not far distant when "rep. by pop." will give the North-West the upper hand in the councils of the nation and when that time comes unless justice is done now when we require it most it is probable the North-West will not forget the treatment it received when it was at the mercy of the eastern portions of Canada. When the West rules let the East look out, unless the latter does the fair thing by us at this time. Our present provincial government have not failed in their duty, all must admit, in laying the grievances of the province before the proper authorities, but the work is only commenced and it is for our premier and his colleagues to push on the good work until complete success crowns their efforts. The matter is too important to be allowed to rest. The consequences unless something is done to relieve us from our unfortunate position are too serious to be passed over lightly. No side issues ought to be permitted to interfere with a determined protest against the injustice that is being done to Manitoba. Let us unite, therefore, to prosecute the good work. Let the press and the people come forward unitedly to advocate their just claims. Let there be no division in the ranks but with a solid front and having a good cause we will make ourselves heard. The welfare of our province is at stake. Let us secure that first and afterwards when we can look with pride on our financial position—when our institutions are on a secure basis, our Province safe from bankruptcy and our people from the burden of undue taxation, differences of opinion on political questions, local and Federal, may be indulged in, but until then let us remember that

"UNION IS STRENGTH."





# COMMENTS

BY

## THE MANITOBA PRESS.

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### A DEMAND FOR JUSTICE.

*From the Manitoba Free Press.*

In the series of letters on "The Anomalous Position of Manitoba as a Province of the Dominion," which we publish in this issue of the Free Press, certain questions of vital importance to the future welfare of Manitoba and the North-West are ably and temperately discussed. We are of opinion that no just-minded man can read and study the facts and figures contained in these letters without being led to the decided conviction that Manitoba, as a member of the Canadian Confederation, is deprived of rights which should be hers, and of privileges which should be inalienable. It is certain, also, that the time has arrived when decisive and concerted action is necessary on the part of our people and our Government. The unjust and degrading conditions which harass our Local Administration and impede our Provincial progress must be removed. The interests of the whole Dominion as well as of Manitoba demand it. In placing the true state of the case before the people and public men of Canada at this juncture, the author of these letters appears to have acted very wisely and most opportunely.

It is clearly impossible for Manitoba to continue any longer the administration of her local affairs on the financial basis to which she has hitherto been compelled to submit. Last year, the expenditure

of the Province, though rapidly reduced to its narrowest necessities, amounted to \$181,329; the income was a little more than \$115,000. The difference was drawn from the capital account of the Province with the Dominion. In other words, we were absolutely forced by the uncontrollable exigencies of our position to draw upon our capital for more than one-third of the year in order to meet the necessary cost of government; and the \$66,000 thus expended in one year represented about one-fourth of our whole capital account then available. Even if no greater discrepancy between income and necessary expenditure should occur during 1881 and the three succeeding years, it is clear that to meet our liabilities we shall be obliged to exhaust our capital. But, when we consider the largely increased area of the Province, the many new expenses necessarily arising therefrom, and the fact that no additional revenue will accrue from the enlargement, it is evidently more than likely that a couple of years at the most, under present circumstances, will see our original capital account entirely wiped out, and our annual income made still less by the loss of the five per cent. interest which we now receive on the amount standing to our credit with the Dominion Government. With our capital gone, our revenue decreased, and our expenses yearly increasing, how can this Province be expected to submit much

longer to an arbitrary and unjust arrangement which necessarily entailed those unfortunate results. It is not the fault of Manitoba that her financial resources are so inadequate to meet her wants. The Dominion authorities are alone to blame, and in their action the remedy must be found. The cure for the trouble is simple. Let Manitoba even now be treated as all the other Provinces were on their entrance into the Confederation, and her financial future is assured. Let her "anomalous position" be exchanged for one of equality with her sister Provinces, and her just progress will no longer be impeded by pecuniary embarrassment. The Dominion Government has the power to effect this transition without serious trouble or delay. And plainly it is its bounden duty to use that power and speedily accomplish a satisfactory settlement of the whole difficulty, by transferring to this Province full control over all lands, yet unsold, or unappropriated, within her boundaries.

In the letters to which we are referring, we find an able discussion of the point as to whether the payment of \$1,500,000 to the Hudson Bay Company by the Dominion gave the latter the right to retain control of our lands after our Province was established. We shall not enter upon that question just now. But even supposing the correctness of the proposition put forward in the Eastern Provinces that the Dominion did buy the North-West out and out, who will venture to deny that the legal title should, if the interests of the Dominion would thereby be served, be waived in favor of the higher claims of fair play and justice? Was the liquidation of the Hudson Bay Company's claim, a speculation on the part of the Dominion Government, entered upon in the hope of making money for the other Provinces? That would be a poor motive for the acquisition of an expanse of territory whose richness is destined to raise Canada into the ranks of great nations! It is a

a matter of right and equity that we demand for Manitoba the same privileges and powers in controlling her own land, timber and minerals that are enjoyed by the other Provinces. Unless this be done at once, there are perhaps only two courses open to our Local Government. They must resort to direct taxation, or they must continue in the humiliating necessity of annually petitioning the Dominion Government for additional help, which has never been, and never will be, bestowed otherwise than grudgingly. We are positive that the rapidly increasing population of Manitoba will not long submit to either of these alternatives. That our new settlements should be dependent upon the whim of any Ottawa Government for the execution of needed local improvements is a situation that cannot long be tolerated: and that the burdens of municipal taxation should be heavily increased by the addition of direct Provincial taxation is something only to be thought of as a very fast resource. This Province is quite willing to assume all the responsibility of providing for her own future wants, if, along with a subsidy reasonably proportionate to those received by the other Provinces, the power of dealing with her own land is given, on rather, restored, to the Local Government. The figures show that the Dominion Government, while amply recouped for all their expenditure in this Province by customs and excise receipts and the sale of lands, are in reality not obtaining any appreciable yearly return from the land. That is the natural result of a land administration whose principle features are dictated by an authority a couple of thousand miles away from the Province. Ontario realizes more than half a million annually from her Crown lands, which are not comparable either in extent or value to the millions of acres of rich land still remaining in this Province, unsold and unappropriated. But Ontario manages her own land affairs, while Manitoba's prairies are governed

from Ottawa. If the Government of Manitoba had power to dispose of and generally to deal with the Crown lands within the boundaries of the Province, Ontario's annual half million would soon be surpassed. But it is an assured fact that no Ottawa administration will ever be able to deal with the same lands to any such advantage. It would pay the Dominion to make the transfer and let our Government administer the lands rather than to be obliged by force of circumstances to aid this Province in carrying on its local affairs by special grants only obtained by continuous solicitation. The author of these letters puts the case very neatly when he says: "It just amounts to this, if the Dominion will insist upon administering the lands in this country, and deriving any benefit from their sale, then the federal treasury will have to accept the responsibility of providing means for our self government. If they choose, however, to enter into an arrangement by which we will obtain means from the sale of our lands to meet our expenses, they will be freed from such responsibility, and it will then remain with us to husband our resources to the best advantage." With the swift growth of our population will necessarily come the growth of our expenditure. If the Dominion Government accept the responsibility of providing us a Provincial revenue, they must expect it to increase every year. What bickering would ensue, what blunders would be made, what irritations between the Federal and Local authorities would certainly arise, need not be described. They are patent, and the certainty is the strongest argument for the adoption of the alternative—the transfer of the administration of the lands of this Province into the hands of our Local Government. Thus alone can grave difficulties and serious embarrassments in the near future be avoided. The Dominion Government is therefore called upon to face this question at once, and to solve it upon the one equitable principle of giving to Manitoba

the powers exercised by the other Provinces of the Dominion.

There is another phase of the land question to which attention may fittingly be directed. The lands set apart for the school purposes of Manitoba are still retained under the control of the Dominion Government. This is another anomaly which ought to be, and must be, eradicated. We have had one specimen of how much the Ottawa authorities know about certain peculiar circumstances connected with school lands in this Province. Had the chosen representatives of our people in our Local Legislature possessed the power of administering these lands, does anybody suppose that such trouble and turmoil would ever have ensued as followed a lately threatened movement of the Dominion Government? Besides, it is exclusively for the purpose of aiding in the education of children born or resident in Manitoba that these lands have been set apart. Can that purpose be better advanced by absentee landlordism at Ottawa than by resident proprietorship in Manitoba? And when a definite object is to be accomplished, why should the Dominion hesitate to place the means of its consummation in the possession of those who are not only best fitted to achieve the most desirable results, but are also deeply interested in the advancement of the cause for whose benefit these lands were destined? There is no reason why Manitoba should not control her own school lands, as well as the unsold and unappropriated lands within her limits; and we can scarcely believe that the Dominion authorities will venture much longer to withhold from this Province rights which should never have been denied. The questions presented in these letters demand immediate attention and speedy solution. There is no time to be lost either by this Province in pressing their importance upon the Dominion Government, or by the latter in devising and offering a proper settlement.

## MANITOBA'S RIGHTS.

*From the Winnipeg Times.*

The gravity of the financial position of our Province as shown in the supplement of yesterday should arrest the attention of every resident of Manitoba. Nobody who wishes the continued prosperity of our Province will be indifferent to our prospects, and a close analysis of our present condition aided by a retrospect of the past will be the best guide to our duty in the future. The theory that provinces as well as individuals work out their own weal or woe can in no wise apply to Manitoba — however applicable it may be to the Dominion. In the creation of Manitoba as a province of Canada, the same jurisdiction that was accorded the other members of the Confederation was not conceded to her, and the disposition of the public domain was left in the hands of the Federal Government for administration. Whatever may have been the motives that induced our rulers at that time in the action then adopted by them for the settlement and government of the North-West, we claim that the time has now arrived when the rights so long enjoyed by the other provinces should also be accorded us, and that having outgrown our babyhood, we are better qualified to administer our lands than the authorities at Ottawa, who cannot be supposed to possess the means of acquiring an accurate knowledge of our condition that we do. When confederation was consummated in 1867, there was a distinct understanding with the provinces then entering the union that in order to abolish the necessity of resorting to direct taxation for the support of local institutions, the different provinces should control such revenues as were desirable from lands, mines, minerals and royalties, which at that time belonged to the several provinces, and were by the British North American Act confirmed in the possession thereof. (See clause CIX. of B. N. A. Act):

"All lands, mines, minerals and royalties

belonging to the several provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the union and all sums then due and payable for such lands, mines, minerals or royalty shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in which the same are situate or arise subject to any trusts existing in respect thereof and to any interest other than that of the Province in the same."

The experience of the last fourteen years has fully demonstrated the wisdom of allowing the provinces at that time confederated the administration of their lands and all revenues derivable therefrom, in the shape of royalties, timber limits, etc., for we find that when these resources were carefully husbanded a yearly revenue derived from interest in profitable investments now accrues to the province and is the means of a perpetual income which, in the case of Ontario, together with the capitation allowance of 80c yields to the province an annual income of \$2,000,000. With the means available for such a source of revenue, appropriated by the Dominion and applied in the carrying out of a National scheme without regard to the local wants and exigencies of Manitoba, with us the case is entirely different and remedial measures should be adopted very shortly, otherwise there is a probability that the contentment and prosperity which now reign in Manitoba will shortly be turned to discontent and misery, and the settlers who, "under present circumstances when wants are as yet few compared to what they will be in a few years," come to settle in our midst, will find themselves burdened with undue taxation if they wish to enjoy the institutions they have been accustomed to in the older provinces, where these were furnished from the provincial exchequer and did not weigh heavily on the people, as the resources of the provinces were in all cases adequate to meet all exigencies consequent in the growth and development of provincial institutions. We feel it our duty to urge upon the federal authorities a careful consideration of our position and to adopt the means available as yet to place this

province in an independent position, and with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the other members of the Confederation.

*From the Marquette Review.*

WITH this issue we publish a supplement containing a series of letters on a subject that has long occupied the attention of thinking men in this Province, namely, the necessity of obtaining means for carrying on the affairs of this country consistent with its rapid growth and increased responsibilities. It is a well-known fact that the moiety granted this Province at its formation, even before its resources were at all understood, was known to be far less than either its requirements would necessitate, or justice should have granted; and the press of the country have at frequent intervals raised its voice in the matter. But the distance was great, the voice of the young country was not powerful, and the ears of the Ministry were not inclined to the cry for justice and assistance; and consequently we have now approached a state that has long been foreseen by all who have devoted any attention to the matter—that of having nearly exhausted our patrimony, and being compelled to seek other means of subsistence. Nor can we be accused of having spent that patrimony in riotous living or waste. Notwithstanding the utmost economy on the part of the Local Government, the small amount granted for the use of the country precluded the possibility of making such improvements as the rapid growth of the country demands, and even to undertake what has been accomplished has necessitated the performance of annual pilgrimages to Ottawa, which in some cases have been futile, and in every case expensive and humiliating. Canada, or at least the representatives of the older Provinces of Canada in the Dominion Parliament have from the outset unfortunately looked upon this vast territory more in the light of a troublesome

infant than as a younger member that year by year would increase in stature and strength, until in a short time it would become the Joseph of the family; but even while viewing it in that light, have refused to grant it that fostering care and kindness so necessary to its full developement; yet, spite of coldness and absolute neglect, the infant is fast arriving at that state of stalwart manhood when its voice must be heard, and its rights granted; and wise will be the statesman who will accord it these just demands, and thus bind this young Province to Canada by bonds of gratefulness, rather than engender feelings of bitterness born of neglect and injustice. It is time, therefore, that the situation was calmly considered by the authorities at Ottawa: and there is little doubt that they will then recognise the fact that in ceding the public lands of this Province to the Local Government they are but doing an act of justice to not only the present population, but to the millions who are yet to make it their home. The outlook under the present circumstances is certainly not a brilliant one. There is no evading the fact that without help, and help quickly rendered, we will soon have to face actual bankruptcy. Our heritage has been denied us from the outset, and has been given here and there, and distributed amongst strangers and speculators in the most lavish manner. We have been sent out into the world, young, helpless, and with just sufficient alms to prevent starvation, while others have been rioting upon our substance. Yet notwithstanding this, the country has prospered, and spite of obstacles, of detractions, and unwise statesmanship, has grown strong, healthy and vigorous, and has proved itself capable not only of offering superior inducements for the overcrowded population of the older Provinces and countries, but of becoming at no distant date the base of supply from which will be drawn the grain to feed them. Still, the very rapidity with which the country has developed, has

absorbed the small pittance that was intended to support it; and we are now almost without the wherewithal of existence. As stated by the writer of these letters, therefore, "One of three courses will have to be adopted, viz.: either the Province must obtain the means of revenue from the resources within its limits, such as Crown lands, timber limits, minerals, etc., or the Dominion, out of the public treasury, must supply the necessary funds to carry on the machinery of local government and improvements, or lacking these two sources of revenue, the people of the Province will be obliged to submit to direct taxation." As to the last resource, the alternative is too obnoxious to be tolerated. The taxes necessary for municipal and school purposes in a new country like Manitoba are of themselves sufficiently high—not to mention the great amount we have to pay on all imports. Direct taxation would impose a burden upon the people that would materially counteract the natural advantages offered. The second proposition appears to us to be a little better; for, after all, it would be but the binding the Province down to the position of a dependant rather than permitting it to rank as an equal, which is contrary to all ideas of freedom. There appears but one remedy, and that is that the lands of the Province—or at least what remains of them—should be handed over to the Province, to be disposed of in the most advantageous manner, and applied to its necessary uses. If there was ever a doubt as to the advisability of this, the late sale of lands in Winnipeg, undertaken by the Dominion Government, should be proof sufficient that they are incapable of obtaining their value. Had these lands been handled by men who understood their worth, and properly advertised, they would have realized their true value, but such cannot be said of the last abortive attempt, for so badly was the whole affair arranged that scarcely any bidders were to be

found, and the few parcels that were disposed of were sold at prices far below their value. We hope, therefore, to see this matter taken in hand by the Local Legislature at the next meeting of Parliament, and the question made the one of first importance in the election of the new members now about to take place.

## THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

*From Rapid City Standard.*

With this issue of the STANDARD we publish a supplement containing a series of letters on the present unsatisfactory financial position of the Province. The writer has gone deeply into the subject and his clever dissertation will doubtless do much towards impressing the minds of the public men of the Dominion with the urgent necessity for prompt action. That the revenue now at the disposal of the Government of Manitoba—some \$115,000—is utterly inadequate to meet their requirements, no one can for a moment dispute. Last year the expenditure in the old Province was \$181,329, and this year, with the extension of the boundaries, a very large increase may be expected and must be provided for. At present there is no source from which this extra revenue can be obtained, and unless the Dominion Government is prepared to place us at once in a position of equality with the other Provinces, bankruptcy in a few years is almost inevitable. There is now every prospect of an era of remarkable development for this Province and the North-West Territories, and the interests of the whole Dominion demand that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of their progress. Should the present unsound financial position of the Province be allowed to continue, there is no telling where the injury may terminate. Those who are doing their utmost to divert the tide of emigration into other channels could have no better argument to use against us than the predicament of the

premier Province of the North-West without means to provide for the administration of its Government, and with the bugbear of direct taxation staring it in the face. But we have too much confidence in the statesmanship of those at the helm in Ottawa, to believe that they will allow the consideration and settlement of this most vital question to stand until we are forced into such a disastrous state of affairs. They know too well how much the future of the Dominion depends upon the success of the Western Provinces, whose fertile plains,—the best authorities admit, are destined to become, ere long, the grain fields of the world, and whose people will be the best supporters of the manufacturing industries of the East. Other schemes are suggested for increasing the revenue of the Province, but at present we see no way that would prove as satisfactory as the transfer to local control of the public lands remaining at the disposal of the Dominion, together with the timber and mineral rights. Notwithstanding the large inroads already made by free grants, sales, and the grant to the railroad, there is enough land undisposed of to enable the local Government to adopt a very liberal homestead policy, and still have a reserve, the ultimate sale of which would provide ample funds to cover any loan that might be effected now and leave a handsome surplus to pass to capital account. No reasonable argument can now be advanced in support of the further retention of the lands of the Province by the Dominion, and unless our rights are respected and we receive equal justice with the sister Provinces, the best interests, not only of Manitoba, but the whole North-West, will be seriously jeopardized. However, while we fully realize the danger that threatens us, and believe it to be our duty to point it out, we repeat that we have too much confidence in the present rulers of the Dominion to believe that they will allow another session of Parliament to pass without grappling

with this difficulty and bringing it to a satisfactory conclusion.—The Hon. Mr. Norquay and his colleagues are leaving nothing undone that will assist them in obtaining the active interest of the public men of the country, and we confidently look forward to their next mission to the capital being crowned with complete success.

## MANITOBA'S POSITION AS A PROVINCE.

### *From the Gateway Express.*

A perusal of the letters distributed as a supplement to the last issue of the EXPRESS, upon the "Anomalous Position of Manitoba as a Province of the Dominion," will doubtless lead to the more serious consideration of the very important question of the rights and privileges enjoyed by this Province as compared with the responsibilities imposed upon us. Unfortunately this is a question too little thought of by our representative men, and one never approached by the Provincial press. The contents of the letters referred to are therefore calculated to somewhat startle us, as we are brought face to face with the fact that we are gradually drifting towards Provincial bankruptcy. Nevertheless this is the fact. Figures are stubborn things and in these letters we have doubtless the most accurate figures in support of the deplorable fact that while we are nominally a Province of the Dominion, we are in reality a species of stock or fund laid by, by the Dominion, on which, as occasion demands, drafts may be made for purposes political or otherwise, and upon which sufficient will be expended to barely keep us from entirely passing out of existence. We feel with the writer of these letters that it is high time we caused our voice to be heard. We have a magnificent country which is being gradually frittered away for one purpose and another, and unless we soon obtain possession and the right to administer

our own resources none will be left to us. Our causes for expenditure will increase while our means of meeting those outlays will decrease. Is there any reason why the other Provinces should have the entire control of their public lands, school lands, minerals, etc., while this Province should be utterly debarred from having the slightest voice in the management of those public matters here. If there is a good and valid reason why this should be so we will by moving in this matter discover it. Now that the matter has been clearly and forcibly brought to our notice it behooves us to unite in an agitation for our rights as a Province which will bring about such a result as will relieve us from an impending calamity. By an united effort the Dominion Government must be forced to face this matter, and by an equitable settlement of it relieve this Province from its present degrading position, and enable it to take the place amongst the Provinces of the Dominion to which its wealth and increasing importance entitles it.

### OUR AUTONOMY.

*From the West Lynne Times.*

We have given a careful perusal to the six letters on the Anomalous Position of Manitoba as a Province of The Dominion recently issued as a supplement to the Winnipeg Times. We advise all those who have an interest in the welfare of the Province to read these letters attentively. The writer of the letters is evidently full master of his subject, and presents the case in language concise with figures that are indisputable and in a style within the comprehension of the ordinary reader. The first letter deals with the question of providing for the better self government of Manitoba and other Provinces in future. In order to do this the writer suggests that one of three courses must be adopted, viz: 1st. The Province must obtain the means of

revenue from the resources within its limits, such as crown lands, timber limits, minerals, etc., or the Dominion out of the public treasury must supply the necessary funds to carry on the machinery of Local Government and improvement, or lacking these two sources of revenue the people of the Province must submit to direct taxation. "It is a noticeable fact," says this writer, that while other Provinces were admitted into confederation, Manitoba was created a Province of the Dominion. Her limits were defined for her, her lands were retained for general purposes, and while she was saddled with an expensive form of local government she was not allowed an adequate amount for the carrying on of the same." This is true. Instead of being a Province, Manitoba was made in fact the colony of a colony. This writer further shows that as matters now stand it is doubtful if increased settlements is any advantage from a local standpoint, inasmuch as increased settlement requires increased expenditure. The utmost subsidy the Province can receive at any future time is \$400,000 upon the 80 cents basis. On investigation says the same writer 3,749,075 acres have been disposed of; 1,315,840 allotted as half-breed lands; 2,400,000 to the Hudson's Bay Co; 2,600,000 to schools, and to railways 3,000,000; in all 13,064,915, against a total area of 35,000,000; good lands within the Province, leaving 22,000,000 acres to be administered. There are, he estimates 200 millions of good land in the Dominion for which we have had to pay \$1,500,000 or 7½ mills per acre. If this Province and the others to be created had possession of and controlled their own lands it would make the Provincial Governments more active immigration agents than they are, the same as in other Provinces. In the short space allotted to an editorial, it is impossible for us to do justice to these letters in one issue. When it is considered that Manitoba since she became a "province" from 1872 to 1880 has paid



into the general treasury for customs, \$1,576,699.98, and excise since 1884 to 1880, \$216,244.34, her right and importance must be conceded by all impartial people. It is evident that for some time past an opinion has been gaining ground and is rapidly acquiring force that Manitoba is too much governed by Ontario, and it will be the duty of Manitobans to insist upon their autonomy being freely and fairly established as people of a Canadian Province, and not as colonists.

## PUBLIC LANDS.

*From the Manitoba Mountaineer.*

With this issue of the Mountaineer we mail a folio containing a series of letters bearing on the present relation of Manitoba to the Dominion. The papers were sent to us, with a request that we would distribute them, and having hastily read the letters and found them on the whole free from party bias, and evidently written in the interest of this Province, we willingly comply with that request, and present them to our readers to-day. Very evidently the writer of these letters has been at considerable pains to inform himself upon the several points discussed, and that he has handled the subject in a very able manner, no one, perhaps will deny. In our necessarily hasty reading we detected a few weaknesses, and in one case—at the beginning of the fifth letter, referring to the wild land tax—positive, and we are afraid wilful, misstatement; but on the whole the argument is very fairly and forcibly put, and in the conclusions arrived at we most heartily concur. It is simply outrageous that all the other Provinces of the Dominion should hold public lands and Manitoba none. The obvious injustice of the arrangement is apparent at a glance. British Columbia, with a fourth part of our population and in receipt of more than double our revenue, receives a sum equal to the whole of our subsidy merely for the right of way of the C. P. R.

through her public lands, and we of Manitoba are compelled to bear a portion of this burden. By what right, we would like to ask, does the Dominion take all the land from one Province and grant to another an annual rent, equal to more than full value, for a strip of land on which to construct a public institution from which the Province receiving that rent secures the greatest benefit—in fact, almost the sole benefit? Again, Prince Edward Island at the outset had no public lands. A certain sum was taken out of the Dominion exchequer and handed over to the authorities of that Province with which to attain public lands. Of that money so handed over, we of Manitoba have to pay our share, for it was borrowed money. By what right does the Dominion thus compel a Province, which it has deprived of public lands, to aid in securing public lands for another Province nearly two thousand miles away? To change the quotation a little, "taxation without benefit is tyranny," and what benefit is it intended Manitoba, having no lands of her own, shall receive from being taxed, to provide lands for Prince Edward Island? Yet again, by what right does Canada appropriate wild lands in this Province, where the treasury is empty, to aid in defraying the cost of building a national highway through Ontario, where the treasury is overflowing, while the wild lands in that Province are left untouched? Half of our available lands having been thus appropriated, by what shadow of a right does the Dominion claim to hold the balance, all charges on the land having been long ago paid?

These are weighty problems, but they are not difficult to solve. The answer to each is: The right of might. When the Dominion authorities decided to carve out the Province of Manitoba, the territory embraced contained but few inhabitants, and these few were not deemed worthy of being consulted in the matter. To be sure they rebelled, but the potent argument of force was

brought to bear, and at once Manitoba accepted the terms imposed. There was no bargaining as with British Columbia. Whatever excuse may be offered, the fact is unquestionable that while British Columbia was enticed Manitoba was forced into the Canadian Confederation, and it would almost seem that Canada has not yet learned that Manitoba, like all the other Provinces, has rights which should be respected. This state of affairs, however, cannot long last. We are a loyal people, and a long-suffering people, and we feel much stronger than the people of the Eastern Provinces feel that there is a possible glorious future for Canada; but we also feel that we are not treated justly, and we sometimes fear there is a crisis approaching. The Provinces of this Dominion must be placed on an equal footing, or there cannot be harmony; without harmony continued prosperity cannot be looked for. In this matter of public lands, each member of the confederation must control its own public lands, or the Dominion must control all. A confederation of six to rob and tyrannize over a seventh is too scandalous an arrangement to be long tolerated by a free people.

#### OUR SUPPLEMENT.

*From the Morris Herald.*

We this week publish a supplement, containing a series of letters, written by a well known Manitoban, on the anomalous position of Manitoba as a Province of the Dominion. It is a question that interests every settler of the Province, and one that all should be conversant with. It is our duty to demand the same recognition from the Dominion Government as is accorded the other Provinces within the Dominion. We should demand that railway companies receiving acts of incorporation from the Local Legislature, other than to cross navigable streams, be allowed to go on with their work of construction without fear

of the Governor General in Council disallowing its charter: we should demand that all public lands be placed in the hands of the Local Government as in Ontario and Quebec; we should most emphatically protest against being treated, as in the past, as a mere child. We have grown to the full vigor of manhood, and present the most prosperous future of any of the other members of the confederation family; our business, tact and perseverance; that has raised us from the bottom to the top of the ladder, should be a sufficient guarantee that our Province is fully as capable of conducting its own affairs, as the others are, and therefore the Dominion Government should recognize our rights and give us them. We are glad to know these letters are soon to be published in pamphlet form, and distributed throughout the Dominion, and by this means it is hoped the members of Parliament will be brought to face the injustice done to Manitoba.

#### MANITOBA'S NON-AUTONOMY.

*From the Rat Portage Progress.*

This week's issue of the Progress contains a supplement in which will be found a series of letters on the anomalous position of Manitoba as a province of the Dominion. These letters have also been published by the other papers in the province, and the arguments and facts adduced therein have been generally endorsed by them. This is not the first time the Progress has referred to the subject which involves the just rights of Manitoba as a province. We have frequently contended that she should become possessed of her birthright which has been retained in the hands of the Dominion Government. At the last session of the House of Commons when the boundaries of Manitoba were extended from exceedingly narrow limits to something like a respectably sized province, the full rights of administra-

tion and the revenue derivable from the public lands, the forests, and the mines should have been included in the Act providing for the extension. But what do we find? The extraordinary anomaly of a province about equal in extent to that of Ontario, with a revenue limited; no matter how populous she may become, to less than one-fifth the expenditure of Ontario in 1880, which was \$2,054,823.24. That province enjoys a subsidy from the Dominion of \$1,196,872.80. Unless further provision is made for increasing the subsidy to Manitoba, no matter what her population may become, her revenue from the Dominion cannot exceed \$400,000. Not only Ontario but all the other provinces, are subsidized to a much greater extent than this province, and they also have their public lands, their forests, and mines, while Manitoba is deprived of these without the slightest compensation. In discussing the administration of the public lands of the North-West, the argument is frequently used that they should be held to pay the expenses of building the Canadian Pacific Railway. Such an argument is entirely unfair. The most expensive portion of that road is in British Columbia, where the Dominion has not a foot of land except by purchase, and also pays to that province \$100,000 annually for the right of way for the road. The only conclusion that any candid reader of our supplement can arrive at is, that Manitoba is deprived of her just rights as a province, and heretofore her people have very quietly submitted, in the hope that when the Canadian Pacific Railway problem was solved, she would be placed on the same financial basis as the other provinces. Her Indian and half-breed reserves have been set apart, the railway lands are located, and the cost of the surveys of her remaining lands, has been more than paid for from sales; they should therefore at once be handed over to the province, together with all they contain of minerals or timber. Manitoba can no

longer afford to remain passive under the present state of things. She should no longer permit the Dominion to deprive her of her birthright. A most emphatic protest should go up from all sections of her people. We are pleased to see the almost unanimous action of the press of the province in the present agitation, but in our opinion it is as yet altogether too tame. Meetings should be held in every city, town and hamlet, and resolutions and memorials should pour into Ottawa to such an extent that the Government would be compelled to place our provincial resources on the same basis as the other provinces. In connection with this subject is involved another of still greater importance, especially to the people living in the territory in dispute between Ontario and Manitoba. We shall, however, refer more fully to this phase of the question involving the boundary dispute in another article in our next issue. In the meantime we would invite a careful perusal of the letters in the supplement, and suggest the advisability of having a large and enthusiastic public meeting to discuss the subject in all its bearings.

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EMERSON *International*:—"That it is too much governed from abroad and by those who are way-billed up to fill some lucrative office in the Province to the exclusion of other persons equally good here, that is insultingly absurd to suppose that a people like we are now in this Province are incapable of handling our own affairs, with intelligence and with success; that we should be placed under a similar flogging with all other Provinces; that it is disgrading to mankind, and insulting to our loyalty, to doubt that we have any other object in view than to make this one of the fairest jewels in the Dominion Coronet must be patent. The time has arrived, to say the least, when this subject should be thoroughly discussed, and our position improved in respect to our right as



Manitobans FIRST. Canadians SECOND.  
but British ALWAYS."

### THE LEGISLATION.

*West Linn Times.*

There are a great many difficulties confronting us. We merely speak as a province. This journal makes no false assertions, and we think it will be conceded that Manitoba as a Province of the Dominion, is just as loyal as all other Provinces. There is nothing disloyal meant. Our people are composed of the same material as those who fought at Queenston Heights or Fontenoy. Let it be distinctly understood that in Manitoba we ask for nothing, except what would be conceded to any Province of the Dominion. Let those who attack our loyalty say that we are disloyal. We want our rights, which means the control of our Public Lands.

### WHY SHOULD MANITOBA BE THANKFUL.

George Laidlaw, one of the railway magnates of Ontario, recently expressed an opinion of the prospects of this Province and the North-West, which has been published. Like nearly every one else who has studied the matter, whether he has paid us a visit or not, Mr. Laidlaw looks to the future of this land as a splendid one. But like many other public men, who ought to know better, the general manager of the Credit Valley Railroad, says some things of this portion of the Dominion which are not correct and are far from being palatable to our people. Speaking of this country, he says—"The people of Canada have made it what it is, and have assumed heavy responsibility for its future—therefore they should go up and possess the land—the very cream of it, and not wait to let the newcomers from all Europe sail in past us, to pick and choose and brag of

their wheat and their wealth, and look down on us in a few years as Ohio and Illinois do on Maine and Vermont." Again, speaking of the safeguards required to prevent the C.P. R. from being tapped on the jugular vein at Winnipeg, and our trade drained away, Mr. Laidlaw says:—

"If we let the American railway companies loose at the throat of the syndicate, they will impair its credit, hurt the value of its securities, and might burst it before we have our job done. We should keep their hands off until they are finished, then we can, and no doubt will, talk to them about competition, rates, etc. Meantime the people in Manitoba interested in or promoting new railways must, I imagine, possess themselves in patience, and be thankful to the people of the rest of the Dominion for the fortunes they are making, and expect to make, out of their eastern fellow-countrymen. The success of the grand national project can't, and I think, won't, be endangered for the sake of circumscribed and temporary local interests."

The idea running through these quotations that the older and richer provinces are constantly contributing to us of their abundance—that we are making fortunes out of them—taking all and giving little in return—and that we are a big burden on them—that is an idea that the people of this land complain of, and repudiate in the most forcible terms. It is not true, but yet it is an untruth, which is entertained and circulated by many of our prominent men. The people of Manitoba and the North-West have been astonished to see how far and fast fabrication has travelled as to their being pampered and spoiled by large Dominion expenditures made for the special benefit of the Prairie Province and the North-West generally. Our attitude towards the Dominion according to the authorities we cite, ought to be one of subjection—intense thankfulness—unbounded gratitude—great caution, lest we should in an unguarded moment do something

to offend our munificent benefactors and cause them to cut off the supplies. The absurdity of that view has been again and again pointed out by the Premier and other members of the Local Government. In a series of admirable letters in the *Montreal Gazette*, in another series, and in articles published by the press of this city, it has been clearly demonstrated that Manitoba is not in the position of a suppliant—suing for favors. There can be nothing more certain than this—that if the Dominion has, in creating this Province, made large outlays, she has more than recouped herself already, and has made an investment which bids fair to be the best she ever made.

We would like to see the people of Ontario and other Provinces come up and possess this land, for it is a good land. Let them come by all means—they are welcome to a share of the "cream." But we do not want them to come stuffed with the notion that they "have made it what it is," and "assumed heavy responsibilities for its future"—as if we were simply children whose maintenance and whole prospects in life depended on the older Provinces—and particularly Ontario. Such a notion is a tremendous mistake. It is a palpable reversal of the true order of things. Manitoba and the North-West are the backbone of the Dominion to day; and the present prosperity and future greatness of the confederation are inseparably connected with the possession and prospects of this province and adjoining territories. To any of our "eastern fellow-countrymen" who think that we are making fortunes out of them, we have replied, "You have taken our lands and are making a fortune out of us. Up to the end of last year you realized from the sale of these lands \$2,046,335. The sole charge which can be properly made against the lands is the cost of survey, which amounted to \$1,400,000. This leaves you, so far, in pocket on this one transaction, \$646,335. And you still hold twenty-two millions of acres

or thereabouts of good land included within the provincial boundaries."

To our eastern fellow countrymen who think we are being enriched at their expense, it has been further pointed out that the Dominion revenue derived from this quarter is increasing annually. It has grown from \$47,539.90 in 1872 to \$294,205.48 in 1880—in the matter of customs receipts alone. The total realized from this scoured within the period named, aggregated \$1,576,899.78; while from excise, the total receipts of the seven years commencing 1874 have been \$216,244.34. This gives a grand total of \$1,793,144.12, as the sum Manitoba contributed to the Dominion; within the nine years specified the Dominion contributed to Manitoba as subsidy which foots up to about \$804,019.21. We have thus, in a few years, from these sources alone, helped to make the fortunes of our eastern fellow-countrymen to the extent of \$989,124.91. And the grand total drawn from us annually by the Dominion from the sale of lands, customs, excise, &c., exceeds half a million dollars. We now receive in return a subsidy of a little over \$100,000 each year. It is not difficult to decide on which side the balance lies in that account.

With regard to the C. P. R. expenditures these countrymen of ours in the east are not so wise as they might be, although they have been furnished with statistics, (which we need not recapitulate) proving incontestibly that this country is under no obligations to the Dominion for the building of that railway. As a matter of fact, its cost to the Dominion will be far more than paid out of our lands: and in all probability it never would have been built were there not hundreds of millions of fertile acres to build it with. It has also to be borne in mind that among the Dominion liabilities (of which Manitoba has to pay a large share) are over \$90,000,000 that have been expended in the older Provinces on public works. Of this amount \$41,000,

000 represent railway expenditures in these old Provinces.

Under all these circumstances we fail to see how we are making our fortunes out of our fellow countrymen in the east—or what it is for which we ought to be specially thankful to them.

## OUR PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

*From the Manitoba Free Press.*

We are confident there is little diversity of opinion in this Province as to the absolute justice and propriety of our claim that all unappropriated public lands within our boundaries forthwith be placed in the possession of our Provincial authorities. This unanimous expression of public opinion cannot fail to have its due effect upon the Dominion Government. Pressure may be necessary in order to secure the rights which alone can put Manitoba on an equality with the other Provinces of the Dominion. It is therefore gratifying to observe that a movement has been inaugurated to obtain from the municipal councils of the Province a united demand that Manitoba's undeniably just claims shall be speedily satisfied. At a meeting of the council of the municipality of Westbourne, held at Gladstone on the 8th ult., the following resolution was adopted.

"That this council respectfully solicit the aid and co-operation of the various municipalities in the Province, as well as our Dominion and local members, to urge on the Dominion Government the necessity of handing over the public lands to our local authorities, as it considers they will be better administered by them in the interests of this Province.

## "GRIP" ON MANITOBA'S LANDS.

It is gratifying to observe that Manitoba's demand for justice in regard to the unappropriated public lands within her

boundaries in finding powerful and interested advocates in other Provinces. We are particularly glad to see that the keen sense of right which has always characterized the public course of "Grip" has been thoroughly aroused on Manitoba's behalf. In its last number there appears a cartoon in which the wrong now inflicted upon this Province by the deprivation of her legitimate sources of revenue is admirably depicted. The cartoon is called "Poor little Manitoba—the Dominion Starveling." Sir Samuel Tilley, with a plethoric waist, is seated at one end of a table, while Manitoba, a small boy, with an Oliver Twistish look of hunger, ragged, out at knees and elbows, occupies a high stool at the opposite extremity. Before Sir Samuel is a huge dish, occupied by an immense pudding labelled "Internal Resources of Manitoba." The Finance Minister is ravenously devouring the pudding, which is made of dollars, while starved Manitoba is piteously holding out his little plate towards which Sir Samuel very gingerly extends one dollar. Behind appears the countenance of Sir John, who, with a grin on his face, whispers to Sir Samuel, "Don't cram him—you know,"—a very unnecessary piece of advice, one would think. On the wall are displayed three placards; the first reads, "Provincial receipts (Manitoba) 1881, \$90,000;" the second, as a contrast, "Provincial Expenses, (Manitoba) 1881, \$181,000;" while the third emphasizes the sarcasm by quoting Sir George Cartier's promise that "Manitoba will enter the confederation on the same basis as the other Provinces, viz: local self government." In its editorial comments, Grip thus pointedly presents the situation:

We advisedly picture the Province of Manitoba as the Dominion Starveling. The actual and discreditable fact is that the Dominion authorities are fattening up on property which by every rule of justice belongs to the Prairie Province. As intimated, this cartoon is but the first of

a series to be published with a view of arousing public attention to the anomaly and having it remedied, if possible, before serious trouble arises.

We heartily join in this fray because we are convinced that the present position of the Prairie Province is fraught with grave danger, not only to the people who live within its limits, but to the whole Dominion. But aside from this, the present attitude of the Dominion authorities is mean, tyrannical and unjust—so much so that no free journal can stand by complacently and endure it. For the benefit of those who have not examined the matter, let us briefly summarize the facts of the case. Manitoba—unlike any of the other provinces—is prohibited from controlling any of the lands, minerals or other sources of revenue within her borders. Her local governmental institutions must be supported entirely by the interest on the amount placed to her credit on entering Confederation—which was some \$500,000. This interest is 5 per cent., but circumstances have obliged the province to use up about \$300,000 of the principal, and the annual expenditure at present is not less than \$180,000. In addition to the interest on the subsidy the only other revenue at the command of the Province is the annual receipt from the Dominion of 80 cts per head on the population—which is limited to a population of 400,000. If Sir John A. is sincere in predicting a population of "millions" in the North-West within a few

years, he ought to be able to grasp the gravity of the problem here presented for his consideration.

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An able Canadian writer recently wrote:—"Local self-government is infinitely valuable, and is the basis of all sound institutions; but it is impaired when unsuitable functions are assigned to it and when mixed up with the central government, from which it ought to be kept entirely distinct. The relation between Law and Equity are a subject for the highest practical intellects and for the best legislative power." The difficulty which Manitoba has always encountered since it was made a fledgeling is that the Central Government is always mixing itself in our affairs, hence local government with us is a mere name. Were we possessed of the functions of a province the case would be different, we would then know better how to act and understand our relations better, and be more self-reliant and less under apprehension of having our rights impaired by those who claim to be guardians and who while pretending to shield us, dispose of our just privileges to those who care nothing for us, and who merely view us as a swaddling. Yes, instead of fighting about this member or that member, it were better that we first saw that we had a Province with a Legislature instead of a Colony with a council shorn of most of its power.